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# Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 192087

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 3044 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO BELGRADE
BONN CARACAS DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE KHARTOUM KUWAIT LAGOS LA PAZ
LIBREVILLE LONDON LUSAKA MAPUTO MOSCOW NEW DELHI OTTAWA PARIS
PEKING PORT LOUIS PRAGUE PRETORIA 281547Z JUL 78.

QUOTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 3044

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, UNSC, SF, WA
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON NAMIBIA

1. SUMMARY: THE SECURITY COUNCIL TOOK ITS FIRST STEP
JULY 27 TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WESTERN FIVE
PROPOSAL ON NAMIBIA. WITH FOUR OF THE WESTERN FIVE
FOREIGN MINISTERS SITTING IN THE COUNCIL (CANADA'S
JAMIESON HAD DEPARTED EARLIER), THE COUNCIL ADOPTED
BOTH THE ENABLING RESOLUTION AND THE RESOLUTION ON
WALVIS BAY AND THEN HEARD NUMEROUS SPEECHES. AMONG THEM
WERE STATEMENTS BY SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA AND SOUTH
AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA. EACH OF THE FIVE ALSO
SPOKE AND IN ADDITION SECRETARY VANCE PRESENTED THE
FIVE'S JOINT EXPLANATION OF VOTE ON THE WALVIS BAY
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RESOLUTION (SEPTEL). NUJOMA DENOUNCED SOUTH AFRICA AND
ITS REPRESSIVE ACTIONS IN NAMIBIA AND PROVIDED SWAPO'S
INTERPRETATION OF THE PROPOSAL. THAT INTERPRETATION
INCLUDED A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE ROLE OF THE
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AS WELL AS A
REVERSION TO SWAPO'S OLD INSISTENCE ON THE CONFINEMENT OF
THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE TO "ONE BASE". BOTHA,
TAKING ADVANTAGE OF A RARE SECURITY COUNCIL
APPEARANCE, LAUNCHED A SCATHING ATTACK ON SWAPO AND THE
SOVIET UNION, AS WELL AS THE FIVE FOR THEIR TREATMENT OF

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WALVIS BAY. HE CATEGORICALLY REJECTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, BUT ADDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS STILL WILLING TO NEGOTIATE VOLUNTARILY WITH THE ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA REGARDING THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY. HE CONCLUDED HIS DISCUSSION OF WALVIS BAY BY STATING THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD CONSIDER THE FIVE'S EXPLANATION OF VOTE ON THE RESOLUTION BEFORE DETERMINING WHETHER THE FIVE'S SUPPORT OF THE RESOLUTION WOULD AFFECT SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. DESPITE THE STATEMENT BY NUJOMA ABOUT "ONE BASE" AND BOTHA'S OBJECTIONS ON WALVIS BAY, WE BELIEVE NEITHER IS IN A POSITION TO REJECT THE PROPOSAL AT THIS STAGE. A LONG ROAD AWAITS US ON NAMIBIA, BUT THIS DAY WENT ABOUT AS WELL AS COULD BE EXPECTED. END SUMMARY.

2. THE FORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON NAMIBIA PM JULY 27 WAS HIGHLIGHTED BY THE PASSAGE OF BOTH DRAFT RESOLUTIONS AND BY SPEECHES BY SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA AND SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA. EACH OF THE FIVE ALSO SPOKE BRIEFLY, AND IN ADDITION SECRETARY VANCE PRESENTED THE FIVE'S JOINT EXPLANATION OF VOTE ON WALVIS BAY. THE FIRST RESOLUTION, CALLING ON THE SECRETARY-GENERAL TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND TO REPORT ON THE CONFIDENTIAL



IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL, PASSED 13-0 WITH THE USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA ABSTAINING. THE RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY PASSED UNANIMOUSLY WITH ALL MEMBERS PARTICIPATING. (TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS, SECRETARY VANCE'S STATEMENTS AND SUMMARY OF OTHER SPEECHES FOLLOW SEPTEL. STATEMENTS BY NUJOMA AND BOTHA DATAFAXED TO IO/UNP ATT: NILES AND POUCHED TO PRETORIA.)

3. THE STATEMENT BY SAM NUJOMA WAS TEDIOUSLY LONG, AND IN A CURIOUS EXPRESSION OF INSECURITY A FULL TWO PAGES OF HIS TEXT WAS DEVOTED TO ENUMERATING THE INTERNATIONAL DECLARATIONS OF SUPPORT WHICH SWAPO HAS RECEIVED FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST FIVE MONTHS. NUJOMA DESCRIBED THE 15-MONTH NEGOTIATING PROCESS AS "CUMBERSOME AND DIFFICULT"; HE CHARGED THAT THROUGHOUT THAT PROCESS THE ACTIONS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME REMAINED "CONTRADICTORY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE TALKS AND DESTRUCTIVE OF EFFORTS TOWARDS A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT"; AND HE WENT ON TO LIST THE REPRESSIVE AND ILLEGAL ACTS CARRIED OUT BY SOUTH AFRICA DURING THAT PERIOD.

4. NUJOMA THEN PROCEEDED TO DISCUSS THE FIVE'S PROPOSAL. HE DESCRIBED IT AS "A COMPROMISE PLAN WHICH IS, IN OUR VIEW, HEAVILY WEIGHED IN FAVOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA'S COLONIAL INTERESTS IN NAMIBIA" AND ADDED THAT "THE LANGUAGE IS DELIBERATELY SO VAGUE AND AMBIGUOUS...THAT IT IS SUBJECT TO DIFFERENT AND UNAVOIDABLY CONFLICTING INTER-

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PRETATIONS". HE WAS PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS TO SET DOWN SWAPO'S UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, WHICH HE DID AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

(A) HE MUST EXERCISE EFFECTIVE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, ALL THE SECURITY ARRANGE-MENTS AND THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385 (1976).

(B) HE MUST HAVE THE PREPONDERANT POWER AND AUTHORITY TO APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE ANY ACTION BY THE COLONIAL ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL.

(C) HE MUST ALSO HAVE THE POWER AND AUTHORITY TO INITIATE MEASURES TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL THE NECESSARY STEPS OF TRANSFERING POWER TO THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, IN MATTERS SUCH AS THE TAKING OF CENSUS, REGISTRATION OF VOTERS, PREPARATION OF VOTERS' ROLLS, THE DELINEATION OF ELECTORAL CONSTITUENCIES, SETTING OF THE BEGINNING OF ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS, DATE OF ELECTIONS AND ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF ELECTORAL PROCEDURES AS WELL AS THE TABULATION, PUBLICATION AND CERTIFICATION OF ELECTION RESULTS.

(D) HE MUST HAVE THE FINAL SAY REGARDING THE GOOD CONDUCT OF THE POLICE FORCES AND SHOULD ENSURE THAT NECESSARY STEPS ARE TAKEN TO GUARANTEE AGAINST THE POSSIBILI-TY OF THEIR INTERFERING IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

END TEXT.

5. WITH REGARD TO THE PROPOSAL'S PROVISION ON THE LOCATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCE, NUJOMA REVERTED TO HIS OLD DEMAND WHEN HE STATED: "WE MAINTAIN AND INSIST THAT THE REMAINING ENEMY TROOPS BE CONFINED TO ONE BASE UNDER STRICT AND ELABORATE SURVEILLANCE". HE WENT ON TO STATE THAT THE EXECUTION OF THE PROPOSAL MUST BE CAREFULLY PLANNED WITH CAUTION AND DELIBERATION, AND HE ASSURED THE COUNCIL OF SWAPO'S WILLINGNESS TO "TAKE A POLITICAL RISK". IF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL WENT BADLY, HOWEVER, HE CONFIDENTIAL

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STATED THAT "THE MASSES OF NAMIBIA AND THE MILITANTS OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY OF NAMIBIA WILL, IF NEED BE, TAKE UP ARMS TO RENEW THE RESISTANCE AND DEFEND THE SAFETY OF OUR PEOPLE AND THE INTEGRITY OF OUR FATHERLAND".

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6. ON THE SUBJECT OF WALVIS BAY, NUJOMA REITERATED SWAPO'S CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL AND AGGRESSIVE ANNEXATION OF WALVIS BAY. HE FURTHER REQUESTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO COMMIT ITSELF TO EXPEDITING "THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL ENEMY TROOPS AND ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY FROM WALVIS BAY SO THAT IT IS SPEEDILY AND UNCONDITIONALLY RESTORED TO NAMIBIA."

7. SOON THEREAFTER SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA TOOK THE FLOOR AND LAUNCHED INTO A FIERY ATTACK ON SWAPO, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WESTERN FIVE. HE LAMBASTED THE "NUJOMA-FACTION OF SWAPO" AS A GROUP WHO "IN THE NAME OF LIBERATION, ATTEMPT TO GAIN BY VIOLENCE THAT WHICH THEY FEAR THEY CANNOT GAIN BY PEACEFUL MEANS". AND HE CHARGED THAT SWAPO "HAVE DONE ALL THEY CAN TO OBSTRUCT THE ATTAINMENT OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION". ASKING WHETHER NUJOMA HAS ACCEPTED A PROPOSAL DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE FIVE, BOTHA NOTED THAT THERE IS NO PROVISION IN THE FIVE'S PROPOSAL FOR THE CONFINEMENT OF A RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCE TO ONE BASE. HE STATED THAT IT IS NOT FOR MR. NUJOMA TO REDEFINE THE ROLE OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND DESCRIBED AS "ARROGANT" NUJOMA'S DEMAND FOR SOUTH AFRICAN WITHDRAWAL FROM WALVIS BAY.

8. BOTHA'S SPEECH WAS LACED WITH REFERENCES TO SOUTH AFRICA'S COOPERATION WITH THE SETTLEMENT EFFORT AND ITS SUPPORT ("SINCE 1967") FOR THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. HE ADDED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL WAS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT IT WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED BY DECEMBER 31, 1978. HE DEFENDED AT LENGTH SOUTH AFRICAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER WALVIS BAY,
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CALLING IT "AS MUCH A PART OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA AS ALASKA IS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" AND CATEGORICALLY REJECTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY. ON THAT RESOLUTION HE STATED:
BEGIN TEXT.

IN CONCLUSION, WHILE SOUTH AFRICA ACCEPTED ON 25 APRIL 1978, THE PROPOSAL ON SOUTH WEST AFRICA IN ITS FINAL AND DEFINITIVE FORM, WE CATEGORICALLY REJECT THE RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY. THIS RESOLUTION, IN DRAFT FORM, CAME TO OUR ATTENTION FOR THE FIRST TIME A FEW DAYS AGO - MONTHS AFTER OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. IT CLEARLY SEEKS TO PREJUDGE THE WHOLE ISSUE. IT NEVER FORMED PART OF THE NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. WE REJECT IT. WE WILL NOT BE PREPARED TO NEGO-TIATE WITH ANYBODY, NOT EVEN WITH THE DULY ELECTED GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA ON THE BASIS OF THIS RESOLUTION. AS INDICATED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

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WITH THE FIVE, ANY DISCUSSION OF THE MATTER WILL BE ON THE BASIS OF A VOLUNTARY ACT ON OUR PART, A DECISION TAKEN BY US IN THE EXERCISE OF OUR SOVEREIGN RIGHT TO DO SO.

I WANT TO BE VERY FRANK WITH THE COUNCIL. WE WERE SHOCKED BY REPORTS THAT THE FIVE WERE GOING TO SUPPORT A RESOLUTION OF THE NATURE NOW BEFORE THE COUNCIL. MY GOVERNMENT CONCLUDEDTHAT SUPPORT FOR SUCH A RESOLUTION WOULD RAISE GRAVE DOUBTS AS TO THE SPIRIT AND MANNER IN WHICH THE FIVE WOULD STAND BEHIND THEIR PROPOSAL. WE FEARED THAT IT WOULD SO DESTROY CONFIDENCE AS TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CO-OPERATE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD, AT THE TIME, COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT, WERE THE FIVE TO VOTE UNRESERVEDLY FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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SUCH A RESOLUTION, SOUTH AFRICA COULD NO LONGER CO-OPERATE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL.

SINCE MY ARRIVAL IN NEW YORK, I HAVE HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FIVE REGARDING THE PURPORT AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESOLUTION.

I HAVE TAKEN NOTE OF THE EXPLANIATION OF VOTE MADE ON BEHALF OF THE FIVE TODAY. I WILL CONVEY THE STATEMENT TO MY GOVERNMENT. WE WILL HAVE TO STUDY THE FULL IMPORT OF THIS STATEMENT. I WILL ALSO FURNISH MY GOVERNMENT WITH THE ADDITIONAL ELUCIDATION PROVIDED BY THE FIVE FOREIGN MINISTERS. IT WILL THEN BE FOR MY GOVERNMENT TO MAKE ITS FINAL DECISION. END TEXT.

9. BOTHA THEN PROCEEDED TO BITE INTO THE SOVIET UNION. HE DEMANDED OF THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR: "WHAT HAS YOUR COUNTRY DONE TO IMPROVE LIFE IN AFRICA?" "WITHDRAW FROM AFRICA", HE CHALLENGED. "CONCERN YOURSELVES WITH UPLIFTING YOUR OWN PEOPLE. YOU WILL HAVE DECADES OF WORK AHEAD OF YOU." TO HIS FELLOW AFRICANS HE PLEADED, "RID YOURSELVES OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. LET US WORK TOGETHER. LET US NOT ALLOW OTHERS TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN US." NEEDLESS TO SAY THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR REQUESTED HIS RIGHT OF REPLY LATER IN THE EVENING, WHEN HE MADE ONLY BRIEF AND RELATIVELY MODERATE RESPONSE TO BOTHA'S SURPRISING ATTACK.

10. COMMENT: AS NEARLY ALL SPEAKERS TOOK NOTE, THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING WAS AN HISTORIC ONE. DESPITE NUJOMA'S REVERSION OF POSITION ON "ONE BASE" AND BOTHA'S STATEMENT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAS YET TO MAKE ITS FINAL DECISION, WE BELIEVE NEITHER IS IN A POSITION TO REJECT THE PROPOSAL AT THIS STAGE. BOTHA'S USE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL PODIUM WAS MASTERFUL. HE TOOK ON EVERYONE BUT THE AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE UN, AND WHILE HE CON-

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VINCED NO ONE OF SOUTH AFRICAN RIGHTEOUSNESS, HE MUST
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HAVE ENJOYED EVERY MINUTE OF IT. IT ALSO NO DOUBT WAS A
NECESSARY PERFORMANCE FOR THE HOME AUDIENCE. END COMMENT.
YOUNG UNQUOTE VANCE

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